

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SSM-01 SS-07 NSC-06 /025 W  
-----007176 111728Z /42

P 111450Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2296  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 3857

CAIRO FOR CODEL HAMILTON

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OREP (CODEL HAMILTON), PBOR, BGOV, JO, US, XF  
SUBJECT: CODEL HAMILTON: MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN

1. SUMMARY: KING HUSSEIN MET WITH CODEL HAMILTON JULY 10 IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING KING'S RETURN TO JORDAN FROM VISIT WITH PRESIDENT SADAT IN CAIRO. MEETING DEALT EXCLUSIVELY WITH MIDEAST PEACE QUESTION AND WAS GENERAL RESTATEMENT OF KING'S PREVIOUSLY HELD VIEWS. KING IS ENCOURAGED BY USG AWARENESS OF ISSUE AND ITS DETERMINATION TO WORK TO ACHIEVE A PERMANENT MIDEAST SETTLEMENT; HE SUPPORTS A UNIFIED ARAB POSITION ON MIDEAST ISSUES BUT FEELS ARABS NEED TO DO MORE WORK IN THAT REGARD. JORDAN IS READY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH U.S. TO ACHIEVE PEACE BUT NEEDS TO KNOW U.S. STRATEGY AS IT EVOLVES. LIKUD VICTORY WAS NOT ON INTERNAL ISSUES BUT RATHER SHOWED MAJORITY OF ISRAELIS DO NOT WANT "TO TRADE TERRITORY TO ARABS FOR PEACE." DANGEROUS PERIOD IS IN OFFERING AND POSSIBILITY LIKUD EXTREMISTS, REBUFFED BY WORLD OPINION, WILL BE TEMPTED TOWARD MILITARY ADVENTURISM IN AREA. GROUNDWORK MUST BE CAREFULLY PREPARED FOR GENEVA. ALTHOUGH PLO MUST SOMEHOW BE FACTORED IN TO  
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GENEVA CONFERENCE, OPINIONS OF PALESTINIAN MAJORITY MUST BE CONSULTED ON FATE OF WEST BANK AND ITS LINKS WITH JORDAN. IN RESPONSE TO CODEL QUESTIONS, KING SAID HE IS PERSONALLY PREPARED TO SUPPORT IDEA OF AN EXPLICIT ARAB LONG-TERM PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL FOLLOWING A NEGOTIATED ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. KING EAGERLY AWAITS TRIP BY SECRETARY VANCE TO AREA AND IS WILLING AND READY TO

PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS " DESPITE THE HEADACHES." END SUMMARY.

2. KING HUSSEIN MET WITH CONGRESSMEN HAMILTON, OBEY, ROSENTHAL AND MIKVA AND THEIR WIVES AND ACCOMPANYING STAFF IN HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION JULY 10. HAMILTON INDICATED THAT CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION IS FOCUSING ON QUESTION OF MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT DURING THEIR CURRENT TRIP AND WAS ANXIOUS TO HEAR KING HUSSEIN'S COMMENTS ON THIS QUESTION. KING HUSSEIN REPLIED THAT FINDING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS HIS GREATEST SINGLE OBJECTIVE. HE IS PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED, AFTER HIS RECENT TALKS IN WASHINGTON, BY GREATER AWARENESS ON PART OF USG OF WHAT IS REQUIRED FOR A JUST PEACE AND INDICATIONS OF USG DETERMINATION TO DO ALL IT CAN TO BRING THAT ABOUT. ONLY THE USG IS IN THIS UNIQUE POSITION; IT HAS TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE AND IMPORTANT STAKES IN FUTURE OF MIDDLE EAST.

3. KING HUSSEIN ADMITTED SOME ASPECTS OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS REQUIRE MORE WORK IN THE ARAB WORLD. HE IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH QUESTIONS OF WHAT ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE FOR THE AREA FOLLOWING AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN RETURN FOR PEACE. KING, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM VISIT TO EGYPT AND FROM MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT SADAT, SAID SOME ARABS FEEL THEY HAVE ALREADY EXPOSED SO MANY CARDS IN CONFIDENTIAL

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PRE-NEGOTIATIONS THAT THEY SHOULD HOLD ON TO SOME FOR NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES.

4. KING SAID MANY CONCRETE PROBLEMS WILL APPEAR UNDER DISCUSSIONS OF PEACE: E.G. MACHINERY FOR ARRANGING A CORRIDOR THROUGH ISRAELI TERRITORY TO THE GAZA STRIP; ARRANGEMENTS FOR JERUSALEM AS A SYMBOL TO ALL OF HOW REAL ARAB/ISRAEL PEACE COULD OPERATE; MANAGEMENT OF AREA WATER RESOURCES AND OF DEAD SEA MINERALS; AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL.

5. KING HUSSEIN ASKED RHETORICALLY: "HOW DO WE GET TO PEACE FROM OUR PRESENT POSITION?" HE EMPHASIZED HIS CONVICTION THAT MANY OBSTACLES CAN BE OVERCOME IF THE USG WILL COME FORWARD WITH ITS THOUGHTS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. ON ISRAELI ELECTIONS, KING SAID THERE ARE TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT. ONE SCHOOL CLAIMED LIKUD VICTORY WAS OVER INTERNAL ISSUES. SECOND SCHOOL WAS, IN KING'S JUDGMENT, MORE ACCURATE. IT CLAIMED THAT LIKUD ELECTION SHOWED THAT MAJORITY OF ISRAELIS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN

WITHDRAWING FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORY IN RETURN FOR PEACE  
AND HAD NO RESPECT FOR RESOLUTION 242. HE SAID IT WAS  
IRONICAL THAT ISRAEL REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY WITH  
JORDAN FOR WEST BANK UNTIL RABAT CONFERENCE TOOK THAT  
ROLE AWAY FROM JORDAN; THEN ISRAEL BEGAN TO INSIST THAT  
IT WAS JORDAN THAT IT WISHED TO BE WEST BANK NEGOTIATOR.  
KING SAID HE WAS ALARMED THAT ISRAELI MAJORITY HAS ELECTED EX-  
TREMISTS AND HARDLINERS, MANY OF WHOM WERE MEMBERS OF THE  
TEAM THAT PREPARED FOR THE SIX-DAY WAR.

7. KING HUSSEIN EMPHASIZED HIS BELIEF THAT AREA IS  
APPROACHING A DANGEROUS PERIOD. HE SAID  
THAT PEOPLE ONCE ARGUED THAT A CONFIDENT AND WELL-ARMED  
ISRAEL WOULD PRODUCE A MODERATE LEADERSHIP; BUT NOW  
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ISRAEL IS STRONGER THAN EVER AND ITS LEADERSHIP IS  
EXTREMIST. KING SAID HE HAS "LINGERING FEELING" THAT IF  
ISRAEL SENSED IT COULD NOT BUCK WORLD OPINION,  
THERE IS A DANGER THAT ISRAEL WILL TRY TO CHANGE  
THE CONDITIONS ON THE GROUND AND PRESENT THE WORLD WITH  
"NEW FACTS." THE REAL QUESTION IS WHETHER ISRAEL WILL  
WITHDRAW IN RETURN FOR PEACE. IF NOT, WE ARE APPROACHING

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 SSM-01 /025 W  
-----008432 111727Z /41

P 111450Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2297  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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AN ERUPION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

8. KING HUSSEIN SAID HE IS EAGERLY AWAITING A VISIT BY SECRETARY VANCE AND A CHANCE TO TALK WITH HIS FRIENDS FROM THE UNITED STATES. HE IS TRYING TO BE OPTIMISTIC BUT THE REALITIES NOW WORRY HIM WITH THE TREND EMERGING.

9. CONGRESSMAN OBEY ASKED WHAT WOULD BE THE ARAB RESPONSE IF SECRETARY VANCE INDICATED THE U.S. IS READY TO PROMOTE A SOLUTION INVOLVING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIAN RIGHTS? IN SUCH A CASE, WOULD THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS MAKE AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING, IF ISRAEL WITHDREW, TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ISRAEL "FOR THE NEXT 1,000 YEARS?" IN REPLY, KING HUSSEIN SAID "YES", JORDAN WOULD DEFINITELY SUPPORT SUCH A STATEMENT. AS FOR THE OTHER ARABS, HE COULD NOT SPEAK FOR THEM DIRECTLY BUT SAW NO REASON WHY THEY COULD NOT SUPPORT SUCH A STATEMENT ALSO. WHEN PUSHED ABOUT WHAT PRESIDENT ASAD WOULD SAY, HE REPLIED HE COULD NOT SPEAK FOR ASAD, LEAVING SOME DOUBT ON THE POINT OF ASAD'S ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH AN APPROACH IN PUBLIC. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON INDICATED PRESIDENT ASAD HAD NOT BEEN WILLING TO GIVE MUCH INFORMATION ON WHAT THE END OF  
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BELLIGERENCY MEANS. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON HAD READ KING HUSSEIN'S RECENT STATEMENT CALLING FOR A COLLECTIVE ARAB POSITION WHICH HE BELIEVED IS A WISE INITIATIVE. DOES KING HUSSEIN BELIEVE WE CAN GET SUCH A COLLECTIVE CONSIDERATION? IN REPLY, KING HUSSEIN SAID HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE. REGARDING HIS POSITION ON A POSSIBLE PHASED WITHDRAWAL IN RETURN FOR STEPS TO PEACE, KING HUSSEIN LIMITED HIS REMARKS TO SAYING THAT HE WOULD GET A CLEARER IDEA FROM THE CONTEXT OF THIS FORMULATION BUT THE QUICKER THE PHASED PROCESS, THE BETTER HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE.

10. CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL MENTIONED THAT IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS, IT WAS APPARENT THAT THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IS A SERIOUS CONSIDERATION IN ISRAELI MINDS. ONE FREQUENT HEARS MENTION OF THE NINE-MILE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE PRE-1967 BORDER AND THE MDEITERRANEAN IN ISRAEL. HOW CAN ARABS ADDRESS THIS ISRAELI PERCEPTION? IN REPLY, KING HUSSEIN INDICATED THAT FEARS EXIST ON BOTH SIDES AND THAT A MUTUALLY-ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION IS THE BEST GUARANTEE AGAINST IRREDENTISM THAT WOULD CAUSE SECURITY PROBLEMS FOR EITHER SIDE.IT IS A TWO-WAY PROBLEM; FOR INSTANCE, AMMAN IS ITSELF WITHIN THE RANGE OF ISRAELI ARTILLERY. KING INDICATED HE BELIEVED SOME SOLUTION TO THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE WORKED OUT.

11. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON ASKED HOW THE PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS RALTING TO RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE CAN BE RESOLVED ON ARAB SIDE. KING HUSSEIN INDICATED THAT THERE ARE MANY FORMULATIONS FOR ACCOMMODATING PLO INTERESTS. THERE IS ALSO DISCUSSION OF AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON FUTURE LINKS BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK THAT COULD BE ANSWERED PRIOR TO GENEVA. KING SAID, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT WHATEVER THE FORMULATION , JORDAN FEELS THAT MAJORITY OF PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO VOICE THEIR OPINIONS ON THESE ARRANGEMENTS. THERE IS GENERAL FEELING THAT THE PLO MUST BE INVOLVED IN SOME WAY IN THE GENEVA PROCEEDINGS AND THERE ARE "SEVERAL THOUGHTS FLOATING AROUND IN THAT REGARD." ONE PROPOSAL HAD BEEN FOR A UNITED ARAB DELEGATION. KING EMPHASIZED THAT THERE MUST BE PRIOR GROUNDWORK BEFORE RESUMING GENEVA AND JORDAN MUST TALK TO THE US TO INSURE ITS SUCCESS. A FAILURE AT GENEVA WOULD BE DISASTROUS.

12. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON ASKED IF THE RABAT DECISION ACKNOWLEDGING THE PLO AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS IS STILL IN EFFECT. IF SO, WHERE DOES JORDAN STAND? KING HUSSEIN REPLIED THAT EVERYONE STILL FEELS THAT JORDAN DOES HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY EVEN THOUGH INVOLVEMENT IN THE WEST BANK "MEANS AND HAS MEANT MANY HEADACHES FOR US." KING, HOWEVER, EMPHASIZED STRONGLY "WE WILL DO EVERYTHING TO HELP BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST." CONGRESSMAN MIKVA INDICATED IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF BOTH SIDES WOULD LOWER THEIR RHETORIC IN THE CURRENT SITUATION AND KING HUSSEIN AGREED. CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON ASKED KING HUSSEIN IF HE HAD ANY ADVICE TO CONGRESS AND THE USG TO HELP SOLVE THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. KING HUSSEIN IN REPLY SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES IN A SERIOUS EFFORT TOWARD PEACE. IN CONCLUSION, CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON EXPRESSED THE HIGH RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP THE AMERICAN CONGRESS AND PEOPLE FEEL FOR KING HUSSEIN AND INDICATED THAT THE USG IS COUNTING ON JORDAN TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.

13. THIS MESSAGE NOT CLEARED WITH CODEL.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**Type:** TE  
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